

Message Text

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT FRANK STARR COLUMN, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, HEADLINED "WAS JACKSON'S VICTORY STAGED?"

2. 2. SEN. HENRY JACKSON (D.WASH.) IS CLAIMING, AND RECEIVING, HIGH PRAISE FOR ACHIEVING A MAJOR VICTORY IN HIS MULTIYEAR EFFORT TO LINK UNITED STATES TRADE BENEFITS TO A LIBERALIZED SOVIET EMIGRATION POLICY.

3. FROM THE WHITE HOUSE ROSTRUM JACKSON, A 1976 PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFUL, WAS ALLOWED TO ANNOUNCE HIS VICTORY AND MAKE PUBLIC TWO DOCUMENTS AS PROOF OF IT, AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER.

4. THERE IS AT LEAST AS MUCH REASON TO BELIEVE THAT JACKSON, ONE OF THE LAST BULWARKS OF SKEPTICISM TOWARD KISSINGER (AND THE SOVIETS), HAS BECOME ONLY THE LATEST VICTIM OF KISSINGER'S TALENTS OF PERSUASION (AND THE SOVIETS'). AT THE VERY LEAST THE PRAISE IS PREMATURE.

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5. THERE IS AT THE MOMENT ONLY THE TWO LETTERS, ONE BY KISSINGER AND ONE BY JACKSON. THERE IS NO TRADE BILL YET. REPORTS FROM MOSCOW INDICATE THAT HARASSMENT OF JEWS CONTINUES. AND IN PLACE OF PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF GOOD

FAITH IN THEIR TREATMENT, THERE IS THE OPPOSITE.

6. INSTEAD OF CREDITING JACKSON WITH A MAJOR VICTORY, A TRUE SKEPTIC MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT THE SENATOR HAS BEEN HAD, THAT KISSINGER (AND THE SOVIETS) DECIDED THAT THE EASIEST WAY TO GET THE TRADE BILL THEY BOTH WANT OFF DEAD CENTER WAS TO CONCEDE JACKSON THE APPEARANCE OF VICTORY AND PROCEED.

7. IT IS TRUE THAT KISSINGER WENT OVER THE CONTENTS OF HIS LETTER TO JACKSON WITH THE SOVIETS VERY CAREFULLY. HE DID NOT GO OVER THE MORE DETAILED CONTENTS OF THE JACKSON LETTER WITH THEM. SO JACKSON'S UNDERSTANDINGS REMAIN JACKSON'S UNDERSTANDINGS. ONLY KISSINGER'S ARE OPERABLE. BUT THEY ARE FULL OF HOLES.

8. ITEM ONE SAYS "PUNITIVE ACTIONS AGAINST INDIVIDUALS SEEKING TO EMIGRATE FROM THE USSR WOULD BE VIOLATIONS OF SOVIET LAWS AND REGULATIONS AND WILL THEREFORE NOT BE PERMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR."

9. THERE ARE MYRIAD WELL-KNOWN AND DOCUMENTED VIOLATIONS OF SOVIET LAW BY SOVIET OFFICIALS IN THE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS, THE MOST OBVIOUS BEING THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF FREE SPEECH AND PRESS TO EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN.

10. ANOTHER OBVIOUS PROBLEM IS KISSINGER'S "ASSUMPTION" THAT THE RATE OF EMIGRATION "WOULD RISE PROMPTLY FROM THE 1973 LEVEL AND WOULD CONTINUE TO RISE TO CORRESPOND TO THE NUMBER OF APPLICANTS."

11. SINCE THERE WERE ABOUT 40,000 EMIGRANTS LAST YEAR (OF WHICH SOME 35,000 WERE JEWS) A RISE TO THE 60,000 FIGURE CITED BY JACKSON (BUT NOT EMBRACED BY THE ADMINISTRATION)
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IS CONCEIVABLE. THE DIFFICULTY IS THE RISE THEREAFTER "TO CORRESPOND TO THE NUMBER OF APPLICANTS."

12. SINCE THE NUMBER OF APPLICANTS IS KEPT SECRET, THE BURDEN OF PROOF OF COMPLIANCE FALLS NOT ON THE SOVIET UNION BUT ON THE ADMINISTRATION, WHICH FOR THE MOMENT FINDS IT IN ITS BEST INTEREST TO FIND THE SOVIETS IN COMPLIANCE.

13. PRESUMABLY THE CONGRESS WILL ALWAYS HAVE THE OPTION OF FINDING THE SOVIETS TO HAVE DEFAULTED AND RESCINDING THE LINE OF CREDIT AND TARIFF BENEFITS AT ISSUE, BUT THAT IS A CUMBERSOME PROCESS AT BEST.

14. THERE ARE OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE AGREEMENT OUTLINED BEFORE IT WAS ANNOUNCED BY MOSCOW PHYSICIST VALENTIN TURCHIN, WHO GENERALLY APPROVES OF JACKSON'S EFFORT.

15. BUT, HE ARGUES, UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE RIGHT OF EMIGRATION CREATES A SERF-LIKE DEPENDENCY ON THE STATE, ON THE ONE HAND, WHILE ALLOWING THE STATE, ON THE OTHER HAND, TO USE EMIGRATION TO DECIMATE THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO WOULD WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM FOR CHANGE.

16. "THUS," TURCHIN WROTE ON SEPTEMBER 7, "TOTALITARIANISM TURNS OUT A DOUBLE WINNER. TO CHANGE THAT, EACH CITIZEN MUST HAVE A REAL POSSIBILITY TO EMIGRATE -- FOR A SHORT OR A LONG STAY, OR FOREVER, AND WITH THE LOSS OR THE PRESERVATION OF HIS CITIZENSHIP."

17. THE DEVICE OF THE LETTERS, ALLOWING THE SOVIETS TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF HAVING BEEN PRESSURED, WAS A TYPICAL KISSINGER DEVICE. US OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS WILL FIND IT IN THEIR INTEREST TO AVOID RESCISSION OF THE TRADE BENEFITS THE NEW LAW, WHEN PASSED, WILL GIVE THEM. BUT THEY MAY PRETEND THE AGREEMENT DOESN'T EXIST.

18. IT IS SAFE TO ASSUME, THE SAME OFFICIALS SAY, THAT THE SOVIETS WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MINIMIZE THEIR COMPLIANCE. WHILE US OFFICIALS DOWNPLAY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LEONID BREZHNEV'S REMARK THAT SUCH TRADE CONDITIONS WERE UNCLASSIFIED

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"UTTERLY IRRELEVANT AND UNACCEPTABLE," THEY ALSO CONCEDE THAT THE REMARK REFLECTS ACCURATELY THE VISCERAL SOVIET REACTION.

19. THUS IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT EFFECT THE JACKSON EFFORT WILL HAVE. FORTUNATELY THERE ARE TWO YEARS REMAINING BEFORE THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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